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VII.—*The Varini of Tacitus, or Warings, and their relations to English Ethnology.* By HYDE CLARKE, Fellow of the Ethnological Society, of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Member of the German Oriental Society, of the American Oriental Society, of the Academy of Anatolia, of the Philological Society of Constantinople, etc.

[Read February 25th, 1868.]

THE investigation of English ethnology has been retarded by many prejudices; a desire on the part of students of Germanic ethnology to look only to High Dutch or only to Scandinavian relations; the reference by others of everything to the question of mixed races, thereby working out either to Roman or to Celtic origins; and thirdly, a preference even for Slavonic influences. The consequence is there is a confusion of opinions, and much of the work is still left to be done. So the question of the settlement of Britain by the English is left undecided, whether as stated by the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, and attested by evidence; or whether, as assumed by others, that it did not take place but by insensible immigrations in the Roman period; so it necessarily follows that few have investigated the question of the tribes which took part in the conquest of Britain, and we have made little progress beyond the addition of the Frizians to the Angli or English, the Saxons, and the Jutes. To these I join the Warings, the early Danes, the Bructers or Boructuarii, the Franks, Vandals, and Burgundians.

While studying the tribes of the *Germania* of Tacitus, I was forcibly struck with the junction of “Angli et Varini,” and I sought in authorities to find out who were these Varini so joined with the English at that time; did they continue so joined; were they severed, and what became of them. So far as then appeared, they were lost to history. The point appeared to me worthy of solution; and I persevered with considerable labour, and often deterred by difficulties, and by the way in which men of authority had dealt with the question. I arrived, at length, at the conviction that the Varini were the Varegs of Russian history; and on the 29th of January, 1849, I sent to the Antiquarian Society a paper read on the 15th of February on this point, and on others affecting the rectification of the fifteenth chapter of the first book of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, and the ninth chapter of the fifth book.

About the same time Professor Rafn, that laborious investigator, took up the subject of the Varegs, or Russians, and produced the *Antiquités Russes et Orientales*, published by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, in two volumes, in 1850 and 1852. In this work, the intercourse of the north with Russia, the Byzantine Empire, and the east, was illustrated by all the evidence which could be brought to bear from Norse sources. As the Norsemen were largely mixed up with the Warings, it flattered the national sympathies of the Scandinavians to refer everything to Norse origins, and the late Professor Rafn naturally felt little disposition to accept my invitation to examine the evidence of the connexion with the English, as well as the Scandinavian race.

In the *Germania* of Tacitus, illustrated by Dr. Latham (p. cxviii, p. 144, and p. cviii) he leans to the opinion that the Varini and Varni were Slavs, and not Germanic. In this state of the question* among men of learning, and nothing having been said on the other side for some time, except occasional references by myself, communications to the Academy of St. Petersburg, and a paper published in Constantinople, I have thought it useful to bring the subject again forward, with such further facts as I have been able to collect. The matter is one which but incidentally attracted the attention of many men of learning, particularly Zeuss, and they have arrived nearly at the same solution as myself; but there is now a confusion and contradiction of opinions; in the midst of which, however, the weight of the authority is in our favour.

I believe the chief difficulties have arisen and yet continue from the attempt to trace upwards, instead of starting from the source. Thus as to the Waranghians, the prevalent opinion of the most learned men in the last century was that the Waranghians were so called from a Norse word of doubtful existence, said to mean thieves and vagabonds, as if they themselves would use such a term of reproach, or as if Slavonians would so name them in a tongue unknown. We now have as a favourite opinion that maintained by Rafn, that all Waranghians were Norsemen.

On starting from the beginning, the first mention we have of the Varini is by Pliny, about the year 50, in his fourth book, ch. xiv, where he names them with the Carini. These Carini I am disposed to consider as a designation of some leading tribe of Angles, as Hunsing of the Frisians. I may

* Those who are interested in the Scandinavian view, will find it developed in the paper of Mr. H. H. Howorth, on the "Origines of the Norsemen," in the 6th vol. of the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*.

note that Varni is a name used for a Bactrian tribe (Bender, *Die Deutschen Ortsnamen*, Siegen, 1846, p. 7.)

About fifty years later both Tacitus (*Germania*, 7, ch. 40) and Ptolemy (Book ii, ch. 2) enumerate the English or Angles and the Varini, as neighbouring and in the same geographical position. Tacitus links "Angli et Varini." They are named by him as immediate neighbours and as engaged with other tribes of a group in the same worship. All these I consider as embraced in the dissertation begun by Tacitus in his thirty-eighth chapter on the Suevi or Suevians.

Here must be mentioned the Rugii, who are also named by Tacitus as in the neighbourhood of the Gothones and the Baltic. (Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 43; Ptolemy, ii, 2; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Exc.*, sec. 48.)

The northern part of the Germania on the Northern Sea, the Baltic, and the between lying mainland of Jutland, was peopled in the time of the Roman writers by several nations, who were not well known or distinguished by the Romans. They included the Frisians, Lombards, Saxons, English, Warings, Rugians, Goths or Jutes, Burgundians, Vandals, and other less known tribes. The precise position of these tribes at any given time cannot be absolutely decided. These denominations were not indeed applied to separate nations or tribes, but to confederacies formed out of the general body of clans of the Suevians.

In each confederacy, so far as we know, there were some branches of the same clans, together with other clans limited to one confederacy. These clans it is to be presumed were not of the same origin, nor did they all speak the same language. The chief modifications known are the English, the Frisian, and the Gothic. What is recorded as having taken place in the settlement of Britain gives us the means of estimating what took place in the earlier and later Germania. Numbers of several confederacies took place in an expedition under a kingly leader, but we find in the nomenclature of the country that a certain number of clans shared in all the new confederacies or kingdoms established. Accordingly as a certain tongue happened to be in the majority, and became the confederate language, so would a dialect be formed. This is most probably the true cause of the several dialects in England, and the settlement of any part by a mass of English, or Frisians, or Jutes. As we find among the Frisians of late that there are a great many dialects, so it would be with all these confederacies of old.

Thus the constitution of these confederacies was not of one kind or settled, and they were materially affected by the con-

tests first with the Celts and then with the Romans, by which, the Allemanic tribes being thrown into conflict with the Roman empire, the Suevian tribes behind them were displaced. Adventurers left the Suevians to join the Allemanni, and afterwards we find large bodies of the confederacies of the Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, moved south and west, and taking part in the destruction of the empire, as afterwards did the Saxons and English.

The mother stocks remained behind, but thinned down and always disturbed by wars between rival kings; and at length they were displaced and replaced by Scandinavians, Slavs, and High Dutch. Thus we must not expect to be able to define the exact geographical position of any of these fluctuating confederacies during the Roman time.

The general position appears to have been this; Frizians on this side, Saxons on this near side of Jutland, English on the other, and the Warings and Rugians on the Baltic side of Germania. The Roman knowledge was so indistinct that the English are not named by Pliny, though the Warings are. (Lib. iv, ch. 14.)

It is on the emergence of these confederacies from Germania that we know more of them. The English, Saxons, Jutes, and Frizians took part in the invasion of Britain. The only direct evidence of the participation of the Warings as such, is in names like Waringwick, Warrington, Werrington, etc.; but Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, v. 9) distinctly enumerates the Rugians. Mr. Daniel H. Haigh's views, if correct, also help us to identify the Warings in Britain.

Wæringwick (Warwick)	Warwickshire
Warrington	Lancashire
"	Buckinghamshire
Werrington	Devon
"	Northampton
Warnford	Northumberland
Warnham	Sussex
Warnborough	Hants

By this time the Warings, or Varini, under the designation of Warni, had sent a body down to the Rhenish border; and in the sixth century they are said to have been beaten by Chil-debert, king of the Franks. (*Fredegar.*, *Chron.* xv.)

Procopius often names the Warings (*Bellum Gothicum*, B. ii, c. 15; B. iii, c. 35; B. iv, c. 20), and it is he who tells the story of the betrothment of Radiger, king of the Warings, to the sister of the king of the East English. It is not easy to see how with this, among other proofs, of the connexion of the people, any one can have conceived the Warings to be Slavonians.*

* Mr. E. William Robertson, in his *History of Scotland*, refers to the Warings on the continent as Werns. He calls my attention to the letter,

The Billings are said to have been the royal race of the Warings. (*Traveller's Tale*.) The first historical Billing died in 967. Whether Ruric was of this race, or the Skiold race of Weden or Woden, is a matter to be further investigated. (*Traveller's Tale*; Rev. Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 129; quoting Lappenberg, *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i, p. 213; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 347.)

Radiger having broken his engagement and cast her off, the warlike damsel levied an army in England, crossed the seas, and landing in Germania, forced Radiger to marry her. Procopius names Hermegiscles king of the Warni. The Warni, like the old English, had the custom of marrying the father's widow. (Sharon Turner, *History*, B. iii, ch. 7.)

In 689 the Rugians or Russians, who are ranked by Bede among the tribes of English kin, are recognised as a people then subsisting in Germania (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, v). Jornandes names Ulme-rugi and Ethel-rugi, but whether these are sub-tribes we cannot now determine. A passage in Bede has been understood as deciding that the English and their kinsmen in Jutland had died out in his time. He says, "From the English, that is the country which is named Angeln, and which is said from that time to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, came the East English, etc." This King Alfred repeats in the next century in his translation, and it has been taken generally as stating that the English wholly left Jutland, whereas the meaning cannot go further than that the part called Angeln was emptied of its people, for Alfred himself, in his *Orosius*, expressly names Frysland, Angli, Sillend, and Dena as in that country. It appears likewise that there were remains of Vandals* and Burgundians, and perhaps of Lombards, in those countries, of whom some portion may have shared in the invasion of Britain, and of whom those enumerated by Alfred may have performed their last national feats under the banner of Ruric.

The Warings were not so successful as their brethren in securing some share in the spoils of the Roman empire, but as good a lot awaited them. After the eighth century, when the settlement of Britain made less calls upon them, they seemed to have turned their attention to expeditions to the Baltic, to which we have stray references in the Sagas. They were, however, from these drafts on their strength, dwindling in numbers,

in Dom Bouquet, of Theodoric to the King of the Gwerini, warning him against the Franks; but the king seems to have joined the Franks against the Thuringians, and to have profited by the conquest.

* Langebeck, 1159, note on the *Chronicon Erici Regis*.

the Slavonians slowly passed their borders on the east and south, took the island of Rugen, and settled in Mecklenburg, while the High Dutch advanced from the west and the Scandinavians or Norsemen from the north. Thus in time, on the extinction of the old English races, the south of Jutland became, as it is now, High Dutch, and the north Scandinavian, the Danes, formerly akin to the English, becoming a Norse-speaking people, the Saxons being extinguished by a High Dutch population, and of all the famous tribes of Jutland, a few Frizians alone remaining on the main and on the Holy Island of our race, Heligoland at the mouth of the Elbe, now under our sway, a curious circumstance by which this national temple of twenty centuries is preserved to our people.

Before the time of Charlemagne the Warings in Jutland had the laws of Wulemar, the same as the English and the Frizians, and it was about the year 800 that Charlemagne confirmed these laws, which are still preserved and are identical in spirit with the Anglo-Saxon laws of Britain, and also the early laws given by our people to Russia. (See under the name of Angli et Werini the collections of Leibnitz and Lindenbrog).

Whether the Warings shared in the forays of the sea-kings on the coasts of Britain is not yet determined; but in the ninth century we find them most actively engaged in the Baltic, where they held the foremost rank. They took tribute from the Slavonians, notably the Choods, Slavs, Merians and Kri-vitches (*Chronicle of Nestor*, 859). They must at an early period in that century have found means to penetrate down the rivers of South Russia into the Black Sea, for in 839 a number of Russians were stopped by Lewis, the son of Charlemagne, making their way home from Byzantium, by accompanying an embassy from the Greek emperor Theophilus to Lewis.* The old Russian Chronicler expressly affirms that there was a regular route for expeditions from Waringia, or the land of the Warings, into Greece. The Baltic Sea was named by the Slavonians the Waring Sea, as by the alarmed Romans the east shore of Britain was called the Saxon shore. The Dwina and the Dnieper were used as channels of communication, the Warings going up the rivers of Slavonia in small barks, and carrying them across from river to river, just as their brethren did in Britain, and Slavonia was so disorganised that the people were unable to resist these rovers. They seem to have sold Welsh, Irish, French, and other slaves to the Byzantines, bringing back Slavonian furs and Byzantine gold. Novgorod, in North Slavonia, was the great seat of this trade. That the

* *Annales Bertiniani*, A.D., 839; and Luitprand, Book v, chap. 6.

Warings penetrated into the countries in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, by the Wolga, is most likely, for Nestor refers to this route.

By the middle of the century, the Slavonian countries were in miserable straits, through the disunion of their own several tribes, and the invasions of the Turkish tribes. The Warings levied regular tribute on the Slavonians of the Baltic. In 860, 861, and 862 their incursions continued. Some of the tribes wished to refuse tribute, but others thought it better to obtain the Warings as allies. They said, "Let us seek a prince who can govern us, and speak to us according to justice." Accordingly, as Vortigern king of Britain had done before, the Slavonians sent an embassy to Jutland, consisting of Choods, Slavs, and Kriviches, and others. They said to the princes of Jutland, "Our country is great, and everything is in abundance, but order and justice are wanting; come and take possession of the soil, and govern us."

As Hengist and Horsa had done before with three keels or ships, three brothers likewise of the godlike and kingly race of Weden—Ruric, Snow, and Troovor—agreed to do, and to take part in the expedition to Slavonia, for which they levied their hosts. These brethren belonged, says Nestor, to the kind of Warings called Russians, as others are called Swedes, Northmen, English, and Goths. This was about 862, according to Nestor.

It is likely, although the date of Nestor varies thirteen years in another case, that this is about the right date; for I am inclined to consider Ruric to be the same Ruric, a great sea king who ravaged the continent* in 850 and 857, and who appears to have been a relative of Harold or Heriold.† The affiliation of Ruric is not settled, but his descendants constitute princely houses in Russia to this day, and the dynasties based on that of Romanzow seek to establish a claim from the house of Ruric. By the marriage of the daughter of Jaroslaus, duke of Russia, to Henry le Bel, king of France, the blood of Ruric has passed into the veins of most of the princes and gentlemen of Europe.

It may be here noted that it is highly desirable the chronicle of Nestor should be translated into English.

They landed among the Slavs and built the town of Ladoga,‡ a site as famous in our annals as that of the landing of Hengist

* *Annals of Fulda*, A.D. 850, 857, 882,; *Ann. Mett.*, A.D. 850, 857; *Ann. Bertiniani*, A.D. 850, 855, 867, 870, 874, 882.

† *Annals of Fulda*, A.D. 852. This has been treated on by Kruse, Rafn, and others.

‡ Dr. Henderson says, that on the banks of the Ladoga was found a coin inscribed "ÆTHELRED REX ANGLORUM". Sharon Turner, b. vi, ch. ix.

and Horsa in the Isle of Thanet, and of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, and fraught with consequences as important. Ruric, the eldest brother, settled on the banks of the Ladoga river, Snow on those of the White Lake, and Troovor at Isborsk. Two years after the two younger brothers died, and Ruric swayed alone. He conquered most of Slavonia, and divided it among his aldermen, who built many towns, and settled Warings among them. It was these successive settlements which drained away from Jutland the remainder of the old English, the Warings and Saxons, and possibly the Goths, Burgundians, and Vandals.

Two chieftains, Oskold and Dir, men of noble blood, but not of the race of Weden, formed an expedition on their own account to attack Constantinople, but on their way made themselves masters of the town of Kieff, and the country of the Polanians. In 863, 864, 865, and 866, according to Nestor, they were engaged in plundering the Greek empire, but in 851 according to the Byzantine historians. This was the first of a series of four attempts made to plunder the treasures of this city of Constantinople within a period of one hundred and ninety years, expeditions which from their boldness are among the most remarkable feats of the English race. They attacked the greatest city of the world, inhabited by a people great in knowledge and wealth, and this they did with the slightest means. The bottom of their barks (Gibbon, chap. lv.) was made of the long stem of a beech or willow, and on this foundation the sides were raised with planks till the height reached twelve feet and the length sixty. The boats were without a deck, having a mast and two rudders, and made to move either by sails or long sweeps. They carried from twenty to forty men, their arms, fresh water, and salt fish or meat.

The Warings began with a fleet of two hundred ships, but towards the end they got together a thousand. After plundering the north shore of Anatolia, Oskold and Dir passed the Bosphorus, and occupied the port of Constantinople, having slaughtered many Greeks. The emperor Michael, son of Theophilus, hastily returned. He was an impious and dissolute prince, who was accustomed to parade the city with his buffoons dressed as bishops, and mounted on jackasses, and with such companions had assaulted the patriarch and his bishops. When the Warings assailed the city, his chief resource was in superstition; for he repaired to the Church of the Virgin Mary at the Blachernæ, and under the advice of the patriarch took from it her under garment, a precious relic, and dipped it in the sea. This being followed by a tempest, which shattered the Waring fleet, and compelled their retreat, the glory was attributed to the Virgin Mary.

The Warings had, however, got considerable plunder from Anatolia, so that in 904 Oleg or Olaf, the regent of the young kings, was encouraged to make another attack. He got together two thousand ships, and a great body of Warings, English, and Northmen, and of Slavonians, and approached Constantinople. The Warings attacked the open country, and the Greeks having closed the Bosphorus against his fleet, he carried it overland, as Mahomet the Second is said to have done afterwards, and assailed the gates of the city. The Greeks having made overtures of peace, first tried to destroy the troops with poisoned wine and provisions.

The Greeks were compelled to pay an enormous sum to the 80,000 troops of the fleet, and negotiate a treaty. The names of the Waring ambassadors include those of Carl or Charles, Pharwolf, Weremund, Ingild, Good, Ruald—thorough northern names. By this treaty provision was made for mutual intercourse between the Warings and Greeks. Vessels wrecked on the Waring coast were to be sent back; prisoners were to be exchanged on paying ransom; the Warings being largely engaged in the slave trade had a right to reclaim fugitive slaves; fugitive criminals were to be restored; Waring workmen in Constantinople or elsewhere were to be subject to English law, and their property after death was to be sent to their own country. This is an early instance of capitulations in Constantinople.

Olaf required of the Greeks to find silk sails for the Warings and cotton sails for the Slavonians, and raised his shield above the gate of the city in token of victory. The scene of these events was most likely near the Adrianople gate.

From 935 to 941, Ingar or Igor, the king of the Warings, was engaged in preparations for war or in war with the Greeks. He raised a large fleet, and began by attacking Bithynia and wasting Pontus as far as Heraklea, and Paphlagonia, and Nikomedia, bearing fire and sword everywhere. The Greeks in 941 defeated Igor in battle, and with great slaughter, and attacked his fleet with Greek fire. On both sides great atrocities were committed. In the next spring the Warings got together new troops, and sent beyond sea to the old Warings and their kinsmen to join him. In 944 he led a large army by land and sea against the Greeks, having with him a considerable body of Patzinag Turkomans, an early instance of alliance between the two races. The Greek emperors bought off this war with a large danegeld, and the Patzinags were let loose on the Bulgarians.

In 945 a new treaty was made between the Greek emperors Romanus and Constantine and the Warings. This treaty was

signed by many Warings, among whom are to be recognised Wolf or Olaf, Halfdan, Alphad, Bronwald, Thorfred, Thorwen, Ingeld, Ruald, Grim, Hakon, Frodi, Adon, Adolph, Antiwald, Furst, and Swain (Rafn, i, vi, gives these names otherwise). One of them is named as a merchant. By this treaty free trade is allowed to the Warings throughout the Greek empire, but they were to have passports. The Warings engaged to find auxiliary troops for the Byzantine empire.

In 955 the queen Olga made a voyage to Constantinople, and was baptised as a Christian under the name of Helena. This caused great dissatisfaction and indignation among the Warings and English on her return. In 964 Swithoslaf or Swatoslaus, the son of Igor, began a new war against the Greeks, but he was led by a present of fifteen hundred pounds of gold, or £60,000, to attack the kingdom of Bulgaria, for which he levied 60,000 men. He conquered this kingdom, but became involved in a war with the Greeks, in which he advanced to Adrianople, at the head of a large army of Warings, English, Norsemen, Slavonians and Turks. A new emperor however, John Zimisces, a brave Armenian, had succeeded to the Byzantine throne, and advancing against the Warings, he beat them and drove them back, and after a desperate struggle they had to return home.

I have not investigated whether the Warings had any share in the invasion of Hungary referred to by Gibbon, ch. lv; Pray, *Dissert.* vi, vii; Katona, *Historia Ducum Hung.* pp. 95-99, 259-264, 476, 479, 483. According to Rafn they likewise attacked Armenia (*Antiquités de l'Orient*).

We now return to the proceedings of the Warings in the land they had conquered.

In 882 Olaf, the regent, made himself master of Kieff. Taking with him a body of warriors in barks, he went up the river, and, concealing them in ambush, he sent a message to say that a party of Waring merchants trading to Greece in the name of Olaf and Igor were staying near Mount Ugor, and would be glad to see their countrymen. Oskold and Dir resorted thither, when they were surrounded by the warriors, and Olaf, showing them the young king Igor, said to them, "You are neither kings, nor of the blood of kings. Here is your lord." At these words they were slaughtered, as having usurped the rights of the race of Weden, which claimed the sole prerogative of filling the thrones of the north, as they then did of twenty kingdoms, and as their descendants now claim to do of England, Denmark, Russia, and Saxony.

The end of Olaf sounds like a legend of the Isle of Sheppey. Olaf had asked a soothsayer, "How shall I die?" and he

answered, "Earl, the horse you love, and on which you ride, shall bring you death." Olaf put away the horse, and five years afterwards he sent for his groom and asked what had become of the horse. The groom answered he was dead. Then Olaf said, "What the soothsayer says is lies. My horse is dead and I live." He went straightway to where the bones of the horse lay, and looking at them said, "That is the beast that was to cause my death;" then he kicked the skull with his foot, but a snake shot forth and stung him in the foot, giving him a deathly wound.

The restless Warings and English were not only engaged in Slavonia, but they entered the service of the Greek emperors, and the Mussulman kings of the East. Massoudi, the Arab historian, states that Warings or Russians and Slavonians were in the service of the Great Khan of the Khozar Turkomans, and dwelt in his head town of Atel. In 912, with the leave of that prince, they fitted out an expedition with their ships or boats in the Caspian Sea, and wasted Daghestan and Shirwan. In 944, says another Arab historian, Abulfeda, they took the city of Barda, the capital of Aran, and fifty miles from Gradja, proceeding in their barks by the Caspian Sea and river Corz, and returning the same way. This subject has yet to be studied.

These countries were the frequent scene of Waring attacks, for Swithoslaf seems in 964 to have subdued the Yasses and the Kassogs, supposed to be the Ossetinians and the Circassians.

Many of the legends of the Warings, as has been already seen, are like those of their brethren in England. Olga, the wife of Ingar or Igor, had a deadly hatred against the Drevlians for slaying her husband. Having slain many of their best leaders, she beleaguered their town, of which the houses were thatched and built of wood. After some time the Drevlians made offers of peace, with a tribute of honey and fruit. Olga, with affected generosity, declined, and asked three sparrows and three pigeons from each house. These being delivered, the queen at night let them loose with lighted matches tied to their tails, and the birds flying back to their nests, set fire to the town in a hundred places, when it was assaulted and the people slaughtered. The same legend is told of Cirenchester,* thence called Sparrowchester, and of Wroxeter and of Silchester.

During the tenth and eleventh century the Warings and English died out in Jutland, and the Waring influence in Sla-

* Layamon, Brute.

vonian diminished. In the old country they seem to have been devotedly attached to the national religion of the worship of Woden. Hence dissensions arose between the old party and those they looked upon as degenerate forsakers of the great lawgivers of the north (Palgrave). Hence began those attacks of the sea kings on the English in Britain, followed up by the Norsemen, and as the various expeditions thinned the people, so did the Norsemen preponderate, the sect of Thure acquired the dominance, and the sect of Woden declined, while ancient nations died out in their olden abodes. The same feeling was awakened with regard to Slavonia; in time the Waring or Russian chiefs, few in proportion to the rest of the population, having intermarried with the Slavonians, lost their own language and religion, and acquired those of the Slavonians, and at length the name Russian ceased to mean those of English blood, but Slavonians alone, for so long as the national feeling was upheld, and the pride of blood swayed, a careful distinction was made between Russian and Slavonian, as between free and serf. Thus too in Spain, Gothic became the name for noble blood.

The famous Waldemar or Wladimir, being king of Russia, sought as his queen Rogneda, the handsome daughter of Earl Rognwald, saying "I wish to wed thy daughter." "Do you wish Waldemar?" said her father to the lady. "No, I will not marry the son of a slave;" for Waldemar was not the son of an Englishman, but a son of King Swithoslaf by a Slavonian woman named Malusha. Waldemar, however, sacked the earl's town of Polotsk, slew him and his sons, and forced the lady to wed him.

At an after time, having sought other wives, Waldemar neglected the Queen Rogneda; but having gone to see her in her abode near Kief, and there falling asleep, she sought to stab him, when he woke up. He then determined to wreak vengeance on her with his own hand, and he bade her clothe herself in her wedding dress, to await her death on a rich bed in her richest chamber. She did as she was bade, and the king came into the room to slay her, but was met by their boyish eldest son, Isiaslaf, who, by his mother's orders, offered Waldemar a drawn sword, and said, "Take that sword and thrust it in my bosom, father, for I, thy son, will not be witness to the death of my mother." "Who thought of seeing thee here?" said Waldemar, and he threw away his sword. He then called together his earls, but the Warings refused to countenance the death of Rogneda, and he gave her and their eldest son the city of Rognwald to live together. Waldemar afterwards became a Christian, and married the daughter of the Greek emperor.

This state of affairs caused growing dissatisfaction between the half Slavonian kings and the Warings, and though when in difficulties the kings took shelter among the old Warings, as in 977 and 1030, and they drew warriors from them, they constantly sought means to lessen their influence. About 980 the Warings claimed the tribute of Kieff, which they had conquered, and Waldemar having deluded them, they reproached him with it, and said, "We know the road to Greece." "Go, then," said he; but Waldemar sent a letter to the emperor of Constantinople to let him know of their coming, warning him against them, and urging him to slay them.

The last mention we have of the Warings in Jutland is in 1030, but most likely some lingered there till the end of the century. In 1018 a large body of them were slaughtered at Novgorod. In 1023 a party of 800 went to Constantinople on the usual errand of seeking service with the emperor, but Basil suspecting them, prevented their landing. They accordingly made their way into the Sea of Marmora, beat the admiral of the Greek squadron, and pushed on to Lemnos, where they were attacked by a larger force, and, surrendering on conditions, were treacherously slaughtered by the Greeks. There were already, however, considerable numbers in the Greek service, and one body of Warings was quartered in Lydia and Phrygia. A Waring having insulted a native woman, she in the struggle got hold of his sword and slew him. His countrymen coming up, and learning what had happened, said the woman was worthy of reward, and gave her the plunder of the dead man, to whose body they refused burial.

About 1041 the Warings and their dependents, under the name of Russians, were in considerable numbers throughout the empire, not only as warriors but as merchants, and a quarrel having arisen at Constantinople between some merchants and the Greeks, a Waring chief was killed. This was used as a plea by Waldemar the younger to take arms, when a bloody warfare took place before Constantinople, in which the Warings at first suffered a very great loss, but afterwards defeated the Greek fleet. In the main object of their expedition, to ransom Constantinople, they failed.

In Russia, the rights of the Warings as a race were recognised, and their most curious monuments are their laws. These make a distinction between the Waring and the Slavonian, and they are framed exactly like the laws of the "Angli et Werrini," and the Anglo-Saxon laws of the same time, murder and all other offences being commutable by a weregeld or money fine, the oath of a Waring being received as evidence of innocence by compurgation, and questions of debt being referred to a jury

of twelve. "If a debtor shall refuse to pay what he owes his creditor, the suit shall be brought before twelve persons, who shall be the arbitrators." Such is defined in the laws of Jaroslaw, and the like in the laws of Isiaslaw, Vsevolod, and Swithoslaf, passed at a Witanmote. This latter code recites the laws of frankpledge and streetward. Many of the lands seem to have been held in soccage. The law of succession gave the throne to the eldest male, as among the English. The alderman or leader of each district in time of war was chosen by the people. Spoil taken in war did not belong to the prince, but to the commonwealth of warriors.

In 1077 the Waring guard of King Vselaw sent to King Swithoslaf and Vsevolod or Oswald, to occupy the city of Kieff, offering to defend it against the Poles, but threatening that if he did not they would set fire to it, and make their way to Greece. Greece was about to become the last home of the Warings. In Russia their race existed but in name; already large bodies of Greek priests had been introduced; the Slavonian language was cultivated by them, although Norse was understood at court; the nobles having begun by adding Slavonian names to their English or Norse names, ended by dropping these, and adopting Slavonian and Greek names, although by the kings the name of Ruric was long upheld.

At the end of the eleventh century the settlement of William the Norman on the throne of England caused great numbers of the nobles of the national party to seek shelter abroad. Some fled to Scotland, and founded families there, but many went to Jutland, to Russia, and so to Constantinople, where they joined the Waring or Waranghian guard of the emperor (William of Malmesbury, *de Gestis Anglorum*, lib. ii; Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesie*, lib. iv, lib. vii; Cedrenus). According to Scarlatus Byzantius, p. 12 (communicated by the Rev. Charles G. Curtis, of Constantinople) the church of St. Nicholas and St. Augustine in Constantinople was founded by one of these noble exiles, and was a Latin church, having indeed for one of its patrons the first missionary to the English, Augustine.

We now witness the spectacle of a great nation dwindled to a legion, but the spirit of nationality was kept up. Even in the palaces of Constantinople these guards spoke the English tongue, according to Codinus, and Gibbon says the Waranghians rose each day in confidence and esteem, the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards, and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen. "They preserved till the last age of the empire the inheritance of spotless loyalty and the use of the English

tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor in Constantinople to the church, the senate, and the hippodrome : he slept and feasted under their trusty guard, and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Waranghians."

It has been alleged that the costume of these guards was adopted for the Palace guard of the Sultan, and it is even said the late Sultan, in state ceremonies, rode covered by the high plumes borrowed from the Waranghians, which I have seen, but I have been told by Turkish authorities that this was a new and modified costume.

To the incorporation of the Anglo-Saxon refugees and the national characteristics of the Waranghians, Sir Walter Scott has given popular testimony in his *Count of Paris*.

Of the connexion of the Waring Russians of Constantinople, and of the reverence their valour created, a well-known legend is preserved, as recorded by Gibbon. It was attested and believed by the vulgar of every rank, that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus at Constantinople was secretly inscribed with a prophecy showing the Russians in the last days should become masters of Constantinople. This brazen statue was brought from Antioch, but was melted down by the Latin crusaders. The legend has been kept up till modern times, and seemingly claimed by the Muscovites ; but they are not of the blood of the Warings, nor are the Muscovites their true heirs.

Professor Rafn, in his *Antiquités de l'Orient*, attributes the rune-carved lion of the Piræus to Harold the Tall, who is supposed to have fled from the north, and made his way by Russia to Constantinople in 1033, entered the Waranghian guard, and rose to be its chief, quitting the service in 1043. After that, according to Rafn, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Jaroslav, Grand Duke of Russia, and became king of Norway. This then was the Harold who invaded England in the time of our king Harold, the son of Godwin.

Rafn remarks that the Waranghian guard was sent on various expeditions. It was employed in Asia on the eastern borders of the empire ; in Iberia, and against the Saracens in Sicily and in Apulia. In 1034 and 1035, the Waranghians passed the winter in the western part of Asia Minor, or Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia.

In 1040 the Bulgarians revolted, and headed by Delean, advanced against the city of Thessalonika, in which the emperor Michael the Paphlagonian then was, but on their approach he fled to Constantinople. Delean then marched upon Epirus and Achaia, took Dyrrachium, and many other cities in the

south and in Greece. It is therefore to the wars of this period that Rafn attributes the conquest of Athens by the Waranghians, which they recorded by the Runic inscription on the marble lion. This lion was afterwards transported by the Venetians to Venice, and is to be seen near the gate of the arsenal.

Rafn reads the inscription, "Hake, with Ulf, Asmund, and Orn, conquered this port. These men and Harold the Tall imposed heavy fines on account of the revolt of the Greek people. Dalk remained captive in distant countries; Egil had gone with Ragnar to [Rumania] and Armenia." If Rafn be right in deciphering this last word, another far country is added to the resorts of the Warings.

In 1103 the Waranghians were quartered at Bafi, the ancient Paphos in Cyprus, and Eric, King of Denmark, died there (Rafn, *Antiquités d'Orient*, p. xii, p. xxxi).

The twelfth century brought the Warings and English into conflict with their foemen, the Normans. Robert Guiscard, Duke of Sicily, invaded Albania, and engaged in the siege of Durazzo. Alexius Comnenus marched to its relief. The main strength of his army consisted of Waranghians, supported by some companies of Franks or Latins.

A bloody battle took place before Durazzo, and the English, burning to revenge their defeat at the battle of Hastings, led the vanguard, making a deep impression with their battle axes on the Lombards and Calabrians. The Duke and his wife rallied their Norman horse, and, attacking the Waranghians on their left flank, which was left uncovered by the Greeks, turned the fate of the day. After a siege of seven months, Robert took Durazzo, but the English still defended the country with their feeble strength. They suffered, however, another loss by the surprise of three hundred of their number in the city of Castoria, but in the end the Normans had to retire. In gratitude for the exertions of the Warings, Alexius gave them a domain said to be named Baringa. This is, I believe, Wranya, some say between Petrina and Gobja.

The head of the Waranghian guard was a great officer of the court, who was called the Akolyth. In the defence of Constantinople against the Latin crusaders, it is expressly stated that the firmest hope of the Greek Emperor was in the strength and spirit of the Waranghians, among whom Norsemen were then mixed. The Waranghians made a desperate defence, but the city was surrendered and taken possession of by a contending Greek emperor and by the Latins. The Latin ambassadors made their way to the palace of the Emperor Comnenus through the streets lined on both sides by the battleaxes of the Waranghian guard.

At an after period they were intrusted with the treasures left by the Emperor Vataces, which they guarded in a strong castle on the banks of the Hermus, in Anatolia, probably that near Ninfi. It was the suffrage of the Waranghians that caused the Imperial crown to be placed on the head of Michael Palæologus in the Cathedral of Nice; and with him they returned to Constantinople.

With regard to the question of the Slavonic relationship of the Varini, when the subject is traced from its source, it is not worth entering upon at any length. From first to last, we find them associated with the English, and speaking English. By the Russians they and their country and the sea were known as Warings, Waringia, and the Waring Sea. In Russia they and their laws were called Russian, and in Byzantium they called themselves Warings.

That from the period of the historical invasion of Slavonia they were much mixed up with Norsemen, and that this infusion became stronger and stronger until the extinction of the Warings, is a fact in conformity with all the evidence as to Jutland.

The general history of the tribes of Jutland is this. They were, in the time of the Romans, Danes included, Suevians. First, during the wars with the Gauls, and afterwards with the Romans, they proceeded southwards towards the scene of action on the Rhine. At or about the same time they began to colonise the Low Countries, materially affected by the Roman settlement. The Saxons employed themselves on the shores of Britain, and on the decline of the Roman power, Britain became a field for adventurers from Jutland. The invasions of the Roman empire, the settlement of Britain and of the Low Countries, so unpeopled Jutland and the countries to the east of the Elbe, that the Scandinavians filtered in from the north and the Slavs pushed in from the east. In Southern Germany the Suevian power was broken by wars, and the High Dutch, pressed on perhaps by the alien tribes behind, filled up Eastern Germany.

The expeditions to Slavonia, and beyond it to the Black and Caspian Seas, must have been of ancient date, traditional, perhaps, from the epoch of Germanic immigration. The Warings being seated on the Baltic side succeeded to this mission, and prospered down to the time of the foundation of the Russian empire.

The ethnological deductions to be derived from these investigations are—

First, the fact of the replacement of a race by another.

Second, extinction by intermarriage.

Third, absolute extinction of a race.

The points I have endeavoured to establish are—

First, the true nature and history of the Varini, restoring this race to its place in history.

Second, the facts as to the foundation of the Russian Empire by our own kindred.

Third, the true relations of the Varangian guard.

* Near Coimbra, in Portugal, live, according to a note of Mr. William Bollaert, fishermen named Varino or Vareiro,—fishermen who are looked upon in the country as a separate caste; thought by some to be the descendants of a Phœnician colony. They are a fine race. One of this body, named Vareiro, discovered Newfoundland.